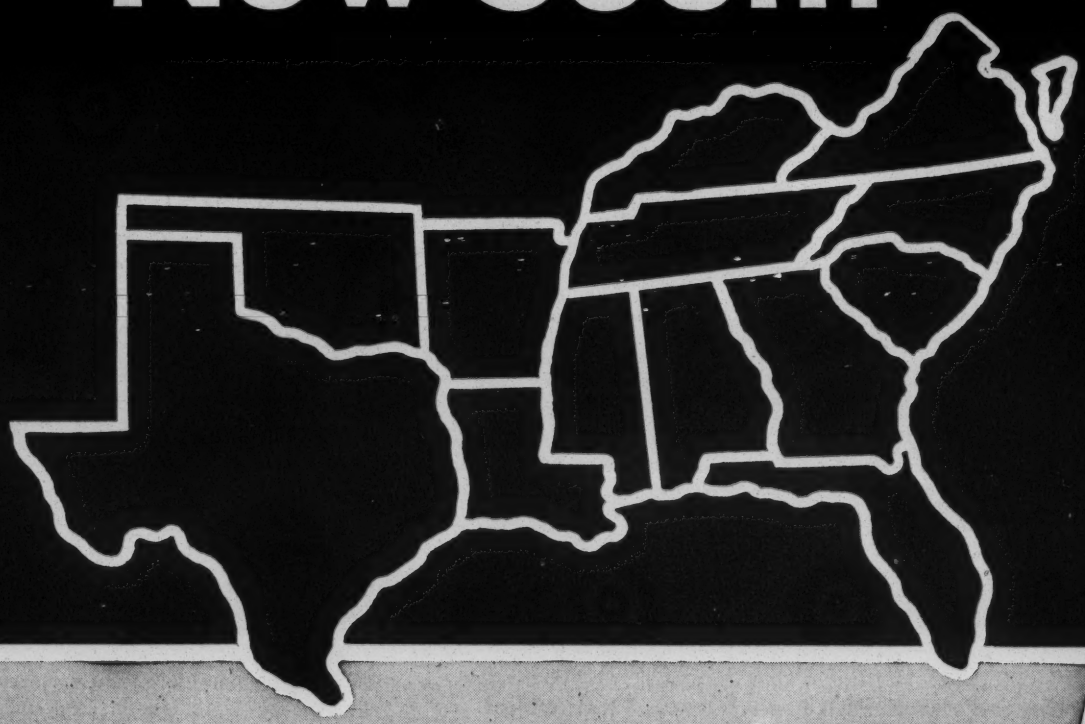
New South



- **Observations On Little Rock**
  Kenneth B. Clark
- **Dallas Ministers**
- **Principles to Guide**
- **Racial Views and Christianity**

JUNE / 1958

New South

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New South Notes

The first integrated school year at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, has ended. Only time will tell what the future holds for the strife-torn school of 1957-58. Much has been written about the white community, especially the portion composed of the small hard core of bitter segregationists. Here, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, noted social psychologist, gives some observations on the effects of mob violence and student harrassment on the Negro community, an element largely untouched by the daily press. It is an enlightening article and one which could help mold a better future for Little Rock and Arkansas.

New South again is pleased to note that more and more responsible Southerners are speaking out on the current racial crisis. In this issue are statements by two religious groups. Both are excellent. The first is a general statement on race relations adopted by the recent General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., meeting in Charlotte, N. C. The statement was presented to the Assembly by the Council of Christian Relations. The second statement is signed by 300 ministers of Dallas, Texas, and concerns race relations, Christian principles, and law and order. This statement is extremely good since Dallas is under order to desegregate its schools.

Rounding out this issue of *New South* are two editorial reprints from Georgia newspapers. The first concerns the Southern Baptist Convention and race relations and is from the *Macon Telegraph*. The second concerns the Supreme Court and is reprinted from the *Daily Times* of Gainesville.

Observations on Little Rock

By Kenneth B. Clark

Little Rock, Arkansas, returned to the news recently as the school year ended. The federalized troops of the National Guard were withdrawn, the first Negro student was graduated from Central High School, and both the Arkansas Gazette *and its editor, Harry Ashmore, received Pulitzer awards for their handling of the issues that disrupted the community last fall.*

Developments in Little Rock's white community—or at least some segments of it—have been widely publicized. Here, Dr. Clark gives New South *readers an insight into the relatively neglected reactions of the Negro community, with special attention to the Central High Negro students and their parents.*

The shape of the future in Little Rock is shrouded in doubt, but Dr. Clark's sensitive report sheds light on some of the factors that will influence the events to come.

My observations of the Negro community in Little Rock occurred during December 1957. These observations and my discussions with various individuals in the Negro community were mainly concerned with the events surrounding the use of federal troops to assure the attendance of the nine Negro students to the previously all white high school in Little Rock. My tentative conclusion was that these developments have had no harmful effect on the Negro community. On the contrary, the morale of Negroes in Little Rock appeared to be quite high. The present high morale seems to be supported by a sense of pride in the dignity and courage of the Negro students, admiration for the leadership and skill of Mrs. L. C. Bates, Arkansas N.A.A.C.P. leader who aided the Negro students, and a firm determination on the part of all segments of the Negro community that there shall be no retreat in the process of school integration.

In general, it appears that the Negro community in Little Rock has become more unified as a consequence of these recent tensions. There seem to be no significant differences of opinion between the upper middle-class, professional group of Negroes, and the working-class Negroes. What differences there are seem superficial. Working-class Negroes are more likely to express their feelings about the presence of Negroes in Central High School in a little more flamboyant terms. For example, a Negro bootblack stated: "I know one thing. Those white people better not be foolish enough to hurt one of those colored children. They're not bothering anybody. They better

Observations

(Continued)

leave them alone. It'll be hell in Little Rock if they lay a hand on one of those kids." A Negro waitress in one of the night clubs in Little Rock stated in fluent language her admiration of the nine Negro students who were then attending Central High School. After expressing her admiration, she said: "When you gonna get some more of our children in that school? They can always pick on a few. They wouldn't be smart if we had a couple of hundred kids there. I sure wish that my child was old enough to go to that school."

Upper middle-class, professional Negroes are more restrained in their expression of admiration and respect for the children and Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates. They generally indicate their support by calling the Bates' and inquiring whether there is anything that they can do to help. They also have increased their general interest in the affairs of the NAACP and their financial support of the organization's effort. In general, however, their backing is expressed in the form of what appear to be genuine compliments and congratulations of the Bates', expressions of pride in the dignity and restraint of the nine Negro students;[1] and basking in the reflected glory which their collective behavior has brought to the entire Negro community. They seem no less determined than the working-class Negroes, but they clearly express their determination for continued progress in integration in different terms. This seems to be true not only in Little Rock but also in such surrounding communities as Pine Bluff and Hot Springs.

From one perspective, it may be stated that the Negro community has become more isolated from the white community. There is evidence that some types of peripheral contacts with whites have become strained or have been terminated by the tensions surrounding the integration of Central High School. On the other hand, many of the upper middle-class Negroes contend that this is more apparent than real. They argue that there were really no genuine and meaningful contacts between the white and the Negro community prior to the recent tensions; that what appeared to be a fairly smooth and adequate relationship was merely the Negroes' accommodation to an inferior status and the whites' willingness to accept this accommodation as evidence of good relations between the two groups. The changes which have developed since the difficulties at Central High School are seen by these individuals as the understandable reaction of many whites when Negroes seek to improve their status in the community. Rather than seeing these changes as negative, Negroes tend to see them as inevitable manifestations of the true nature of the relationship between the groups.

The Negroes believe that the pro-segregationist whites have seized the initiative and have succeeded in intimidating the more liberal and moderate members of the white community. These Negroes seem quite clear in their evaluation of the moderate, less extreme

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[1]*One of the students, Minnie Jean Brown, has since been expelled for retaliating against her tormentors.*

whites. They do not have very much compassion or respect for them. They tend to believe that their lack of courage and the ease with which the extreme pro-segregationist whites were able to immoblize them reflected a basic lack of conviction on the part of the moderate whites and a tendency not to jeopardize their own status by taking a position for justice and law and order when it involved problems of race relations.

There are some exceptions which Negroes in general tend to recognize. There are some whites who maintain positive and close relations with the leaders of the Negro community. Their aid has been invaluable although, for obvious reasons, most cannot be publicly identified.

While there appeared to be no direct, overt, and systematic collaboration between Negroes and white groups in Little Rock at the time of my observations, some of the Negro leaders believed that the majority of the white people are determined that there shall be no further incidents which will add to the difficulties and stigma that the city has already received in the national and international press. The following incidents illustrates the basis for their opinion:

A Negro girl boarded one of the desegregated buses in Little Rock and took a seat beside a white woman. The woman, who was obviously an extreme pro-segregationist, began to berate the Negro girl and insisted that she should move to the back of the bus. When the Negro girl refused to move, the white woman became more extreme in her denunciation and name-calling. A majority of the people who were on the bus were white. As the woman threatened and raved, they became more and more tense and seemingly embarrassed. The white woman got up and made a threatening gesture toward the Negro girl as if she were going to strike her. As she did this, a number of white people jumped up and restrained the white woman. Another white woman led the Negro girl to a seat beside her. As this was done, the whole bus relaxed and the incident was closed, except that the pro-segregationist woman kept muttering something about the large number of "nigger-lovers" who now infested Little Rock. It may be of further interest to note that this incident was reported to Negro leaders by one of the white people on the bus and later confirmed by the Negro girl who was involved.

There is little or no indication that the Negroes of Little Rock have been intimidated by the intense and at times violent behavior of the pro-segregationist whites. They look upon the activities of these pro-segregationists as pathetic and ridiculous attempts to save a lost cause. They even have a tendency to look upon the violence as essentially ridiculous even though cruel.

The Negro community may be characterized as fearless, determined, and stolid. There is a relentless refusal to move backwards. This stolidity is supported by a strong feeling that they are on the right side of this issue, that history is on their side, that international and national imperatives make the position of the pro-segregationists untenable. The Negro community does not seem to be in a mood for further compromises or temporizing of their right to attend non-segregated schools. They seem pre-

Observations

(Continued)

pared to present many other Negro students for entrance in Central High School and other white schools in the city.

Adjustment of the Nine Negro Students

From general observation of these students in a social situation; observing them individually in their homes and in their relation with their parents, their brothers and sisters, and their friends; from some individual discussions with them, and discussions with individuals who know them and have been observing them throughout the current school term, I have arrived at the following conclusions about their overall adjustment:

(1) These students have reacted extraordinarily well to the tensions, threats and anxiety surrounding their attendance at Central High School. They are aware of the problems and dangers. Many of them have borne directly the brunt of organized harassment and hostility perpetrated by a hard core of about fifty white students in Central High School. In general, they react to the jostling, name-calling, taunts, and threats with disciplined restraint.

It must be pointed out, however, that being different personalities they differ in the weight that they give to this harassment. Some tend to minimize the significance of this ordeal and dismiss all but the most severe incidents as being petty. For example, one of the girls insists that she will not report the large number of minor incidents and is proud of the fact that the only time she appealed to the school authorities was when a white boy attempted to push her down the steps and threatened her by saying, "I'm going to get you out of this school if I have to kill you."

Others are quite disturbed by the cumulative cruelties which they had had to bear. They seem too proud to whine about it, but they reveal their anxiety by indirect indications of dread.

(2) Most of the students seem to be reacting most positively to being thrown into the public spotlight. There seems to be no evidence of any severe distortion in their perspective of themselves.

They accept with a quiet grace and dignity the many indications of respect and admiration which come from the Negro community. It is my belief that they have been helped to maintain an even balance in this regard by the keen insights and guidance of Mrs. Bates and their seemingly excellent relationships with their parents and brothers and sisters.

(3) Their relations with their former classmates and the community in general also seem to be quite good.

An example of this was the fact that when one of the nine gave a party during the holidays, many more of her friends at the all-Negro Horace Mann High School came than were expected. There was good natured banter. On the other hand, some of the Negro children — presumably a small minority — who are still attending Horace Mann School have expressed rivalry or jealousy by indicating that they would not want to go to Central High School. All of the students are aware that this sentiment exists, but none of them seems unduly

disturbed by it. They tend to dismiss it as a sign of acceptance of segregation on the part of the individuals who hold this opinion. They are supported by the fact that the majority opinion in the Negro community rejects this negativistic point of view.

(4) In general, these students are quite aware of the importance of their pioneer role. They have been made so keenly aware of this that they are willing to accept the personal discomforts and abuse "so that other Negro students will have an easier time."

There seems to be little or no evidence that they have suffered significantly so far. They have received a great deal of public attention, support, and acclaim. They have managed to maintain their personal balance and stability. If there is a significant danger inherent in this situation and their relationship to it, it is the danger that they do not seem sufficiently aware of the very real possibility of physical harm which might be inflicted upon them.

Summary Impressions:

(1) The Negro community has been unified rather than disrupted by the Central High School desegregation incidents. There is some evidence that prior to the actual event one would have characterized the Negro community in Little Rock as uncoordinated and consisting of many groups with conflicting and divergent interests. Now it appears that the school integration issue has served to mobilize and unify the group and has increased its morale and pride significantly.

(2) The present psychological health of all the Negro students seem to be good. They are accepting their role with poise and dignity. They have been helped significantly by the wise guidance and counsel of Mrs. Bates, by the warmth and support of their families, and by the admiration and respect which they have received from the immediate community and from the nation. Of special significance also is the evidence of international concern and support which they have continuously received.

(3) On the negative side is the fact that the overt, spontaneous expression of hostility towards them which reached its peak just before and for some time after the presence of federal troops in Little Rock has been replaced by a more systematic, effectively directed campaign of harassment and petty cruelties inflicted by a hard core of between 50 and 100 white students. These incidents of cruelties and abuse are particularly severe in gym classes, the lunch rooms, and in the halls between classes. They are less likely to occur in the classrooms. It appears that this hard core group has been organized and its activities directed by adults outside of the school. They seem to have orders to concentrate on particular individuals.

They have successfully isolated the Negro youngsters by directing their initial campaign of intimidation against those white students who in the early weeks of the term attempted to show signs of friendliness and acceptance of the Negro students. These white students were maligned and threatened — in some cases to the point of hysteria.

Observations

(Continued)

They informed the Negro students that they would no longer be able to show any open signs of friendliness towards them. Furthermore, the adults who direct the activities of these white students seem to have been successful in immobilizing most, if not all, of the school officials through name-calling and other forms of intimidation. As a result, the school officials do not seem free to deal effectively with any except the most extreme forms of cruelty. Through this many-pronged attack, the small group of pro-segregationists have succeeded in making the day-to-day life of the Negro students within Central High School almost intolerable. They have not succeeded completely only because of the determination, stolidity, humor, and courage of the Negro community in general and the Negro students and Mrs. Bates in particular.

It is my belief that these students will continue to attend Central High School and that perhaps more Negro students will present themselves for admission during the next school term. One serious danger should not be discounted, however; if the organized hoodlums are not effectively restrained and are permitted to continue their campaign of harassment and cruelty they will seriously harm one or more of the Negro students. If this happens, I believe Little Rock will be in for a serious racial disturbance.

Little Rock demonstrates that one cannot judge before the fact the readiness of the Negro community to endure the hardships or meet the challenge associated with desegregation. It appears that the actuality of desegregation and the demands made upon the individuals and the community when the issues are joined tend to mobilize the positive potentials in the community and reduce the effect of the negative. The potentials for greatness are actualized by the realities rather than in anticipation of these realities.

Unfortunately, this does not seem to be equally true in the appraisal of the effect of the desegregation incident on the white community. This latter impression, however, must be held with the reservation that no systematic study of the white community was conducted by this observer. Furthermore, his impressions reflected the perspective of a Negro seeing the situation through the eyes and feelings of the Negro community.

The primary tragedy of Little Rock is not to be found in anything that has happened to the Negro children or in any psychological scars which they must bear—disturbing as these have been. Apparently, centuries of oppression have immunized them and given them the necessary protective defenses for survival. The real tragedy of Little Rock is what is happening to the white children in Central High School—the fact that potentially decent human beings are being required to bow to the brutality of a tightly organized white minority. And this reflects a larger tragedy: The decency in the whites of the South is not backed by the fervor and conviction or the courage which is shown by fanatical racists. Without regard to the integration issues—without regard to what happens to Negroes, for they will survive—this is a serious omen for the region and for the nation as a whole.

Dallas Clergy Call For Law and Order

Signed By
300 Dallas, Texas,
Ministers

Dallas, together with the rest of the nation, faces serious social issues which must be resolved. We, the undersigned ministers, here declare our conviction that racial problems and their solution are moral and spiritual as well as political matters, and that our understanding of the demands of God impels us to speak. God-fearing citizens cannot ignore their responsibilities in civil society. We speak as individuals only, not as representatives of any group or organization.

We admit, in deep humility, our own sins of prejudice in many areas, and the failure of our religious bodies to solve problems of racial relationships.

We recognize that there are honest differences of opinion among sincere people concerning desegregation in the public schools. One of the most prized possessions of a free society, however, is the right to discuss differences openly. We are certain that thoughtful citizens, although they may differ in their views on the race question, agree that these differences can be resolved only by following democratic principles, such as respect for the rights of individuals, free speech and due process of law through the courts, without recourse to violence and lawlessness.

The only solution to this or any other problem of human relations lies in the application of the New Testament concept of Christian love in which we seek for others that which we desire for ourselves. We remember that Jesus said, "By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another." We remember that the Holy Spirit led Peter to say, "God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean."

These Scriptures, among others, call us as Christians to go beyond simple justice to the practice of our Lord's

Law and Order

(Continued)

commandments. We must treat every individual as a person made in the image of God and one for whom Christ died. This impels us to express our concern in the social and political situations of our times.

All of this leads us to the conviction that enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong, and in light of these beliefs we present the following principles:

1. These problems can be solved only as people seek God's help. We should seek not to justify our own views in his sight, but to obtain his guidance in all our actions. We urge that people of all faiths pray earnestly that God will give understanding, patience and guidance in meeting these social issues.

2. Law and order must be maintained as Dallas faces desegregation of its public schools. The Supreme Court has ruled that segregation in the public schools on the basis of race is unconstitutional. The lower Federal courts will inform Dallas about local application of this decision. Their rulings will be the law, and must be respected. If individuals or groups defy court decisions, they are inviting anarchy in which no one's rights will be preserved. We urge that all citizens encourage and support the declared intention of city officials and law enforcement agencies to see that law and order are maintained in Dallas.

3. Churches, service clubs and community organizations, newspapers, radio and television have a responsibility to aid in the solution of this problem. We urge that these groups and enterprises join together in seeking actively to promote the spirit of harmony and peace among all people, both by aiding forces of order and goodwill, and by discouraging destructive actions.

4. The citizens of Dallas have a responsibility to assist the School Boards as they attempt to lead the community. In order that the School Boards may have the understanding support of the community in desegregating the public schools, we urge that plans be made public as soon as possible.

5. Christian parents can be of a great help in creating proper attitudes toward race. We urge that all parents, by conversation and example, set a pattern of responsible Christian citizenship in a democracy which recognizes justice, fair-play and respect for the sacredness of human personality.

6. The exchange of views among people of different races is necessary for a reasonable solution to the problem. We urge that religious, civic and educational groups of all races seek to understand each other by a free interchange of ideas and opinions in order that there may be full confidence and cooperation in arriving at solutions.—Signed by 300 Ministers from 13 Denominations.

When the first Negro applied for entrance to Harvard University in 1848, there was some protest from white students. Edward Everett, then president of Harvard, made this statement: "If this boy passes the examinations he will be admitted; and, if the white students choose to withdraw, all the income of the college will be devoted to his education."—From *Harvard Today*.

Principles to Guide

Approved By

Presbyterian Church, U.S.

The past year has been marked by numerous incidents of violence due to racial tension. These incidents have usually occurred in areas where efforts have been made to obey the law of the land with regard to the desegregation of public schools, or where there have been interracial meetings. In one case a home was bombed following the publication of a book setting forth differing points of view regarding the race problem. In another case, a man was picked up at random by a mob and mutilated after an unsuccessful effort had been made in the community to enter a child in school. A school was destroyed in a community which had begun the process of desegregation. Another city received international attention when troops were brought in to protect students in an integrated school. An interracial religious community continued to be harassed, property damaged and life endangered by unapprehended assailants.

As the year came to a close, out of 3,008 bi-racial districts in the South, 762 had desegregated. All but 15 of these were in border states. A number of states continued to circumvent the law of the land. Some people are willing to abolish the public school system rather than comply with the law.

In the face of increasing racial tension there are signs that influential ministers and laymen are beginning to assert their Christian convictions and speak out against un-American and un-Christian procedures. In Atlanta 80 ministers issued a clear statement including six principles which sought to arouse the conscience of responsible Christian citizens. The principles upon which the statement was based were:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.
2. As Americans and as Christians we have an obligation to obey the law.
3. The public school system must not be destroyed.
4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.
5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.
6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom.

The statement was commended by local newspapers and generally well received. Similar statements have been issued by church groups in other communities. Some southern governors have given their support to this approach to a difficult problem. Notable and praiseworthy was the address of Governor Collins to the Men's Convention in Miami.

All laymen and ministers who have taken a stand based upon obedience to law, respect for human dignity, and freedom to enjoy the blessings of a free nation are to be commended and assured

Principles

(Continued)

of the gratitude and prayers of the General Assembly.

As the Christian people of the South face those problems of race which now present us with an unparalleled obligation and opportunity, the General Assembly proposed for careful consideration the following principles which in its judgment should guide them:

1. All people have been created in the image of God and are to be treated as such. Therefore, we should confront problems of race against the background of a world perspective.

2. Though differing in outward appearance men are essentially one; they have fundamentally the same needs, aspirations, hopes and fears.

3. It is God's will that the law of Christ, i.e., love or goodwill, be operative in all human relationships.

4. To do unto others as we would have them do unto us, we must seek sympathetically and imaginatively to understand their point of view, their needs, aspirations and fears; this is a rule for individuals, groups and nations.

5. The Christian conscience cannot rest content with any legal or compulsive arrangement that brands any people as inferior; which denies them the full right of citizenship on the ground of race, color or social status; or which prevents them from developing to the fullest possible extent the potentialities with which they, as individuals, have been endowed by the Creator.

6. The recent decision of the Supreme Court regarding segregation in the public schools must be recognized as the law of the land, and obeyed as such until and unless it is changed by legal and constitutional methods.

7. The public school system must be preserved and strengthened. To withhold the benefits of a public school education from any child; to prevent any community by punitive means from carrying out its educational responsibility is an unwise and dangerous expedient.

8. Freedom of speech must be preserved at all costs, without the danger of economic or political reprisal for those who express opinions contrary to our own.

9. Violence, and furious or unrestrained language which may incite thereto, must be avoided; all organizations, hooded or otherwise, which seek to take the law in their own hand, and all movements which would prevent citizens from resorting to law in their own defense must be opposed.

10. The right to vote must be made secure for citizens without restrictions based on race or color, without preventive stratagems which make a mockery of democratic processes.

11. Communication between responsible leaders of the two races in the South must be developed, strengthened and maintained. It is essential that individual church members seek to be led by the Spirit of Christ in their daily contacts with those of other races, and so preserve the fellowship of believers in Him as Lord and Savior.

12. To the Christian people of the South there is now given an opportunity to demonstrate the effectiveness of the gospel in solving a difficult problem in human relations whose far-reaching effects are incalculable. God grant that we may not fail our nation or our Lord in this period of crisis.

Racial Views Cannot Alter Principles of Christianity

Reprinted From Macon Telegraph

It is disturbing that ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ could attack a report of the Southern Baptist Convention urging Baptists to "help and not hinder the progress of justice for all peoples." Individual church interpretations of what this Christian duty entails will necessarily vary.

But the concept of justice, fellowship and humanity is basic to Christian faith. We had thought the goodness, purity and desirability of these principles were practically universally praised and preached, if not practiced.

A Georgia minister believes racial fellowship is synonymous with integration and he said as much in opposing the report before the convention. We admire him for his sincerity and frankness in saying what he thinks.

We cannot agree, however, with the position in which this minister and no doubt a considerable number of others in our state have placed themselves.

The report overwhelmingly approved by the convention but attacked by a minority seemed to us to say essentially what is taught in every church and Sunday School in our state.

In truth, it did call for strengthening "fellowship with people of every race." Would opponents of the report have fellowship weakened or done away with entirely? The New Testament offers small comfort for those who look to it for support of this argument.

The report also denounced social usages that "deny basic American freedoms" to any citizen. Certainly opponents do not mean to say they would deny these freedoms. There can only be a divsion of opinion on what constitutes "basic freedoms" and what is meant by "denial."

The report contended "racial antipathy" at home has impeded missionary work abroad. That is a matter for the denomination to determine. Since the Baptist Convention overwhelmingly accepted the report, presumably the conviction was strong that missionary work has been hurt.

Essentially, the report merely expressed anew Christian principles long accepted as guideposts for living and dying.

Unfortunately these principles themselves came under attack because some felt they amounted to a plea for integration of the races.

Whether they do is a matter for each man to determine in his own heart. But there can be no doubt the principles themselves are as immutable as the Christian faith.

Supreme Court Will Uphold The Law, Come What May

Reprinted From Daily Times, Gainesville, Georgia

The nation observed "Law Day" recently, recognizing the effect of our law on our lives and law as the basic rule of our government and, indeed, our civilization. While paying homage to the rule of law, some of our lawmakers and many interested citizens continued to push plans to limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court . . . Apparently they saw no inconsistency in their attitude.

Today's constitutional debate, spurred by men known not as conservatives but as "constitutional radicals," concerns the high court's role as one of the three great branches of our government. Opponents of the court maintain it has meddled in legislative affairs. While there is some justification for that attitude, we must remember that the Supreme Court's duty is to interpret the Constitution and to see that it performs its obligations of protecting the rights of individuals above all other rights. . . .

The law is a continuing rule and is the instrument that protects not only our persons but our system of government and way of life over the long haul. Attempts to alter the rule of law to fit circumstances for this week and this hour may be expected. The test of the value of the law and the guide of its meaning to us is that it withstands short-run onslaughts. If we altered the law with each passing passion, we would have no law and no order. Neither would we have protection from anarchy.

There is little enough in life as it is that can withstand sudden whim. Though God is eternal, even religion is subjected to the buffeting of extemporaneous interpretation. Sudden anger or sudden revelation, call it what you will, turns into splinter ideologies and new congregations.

In the law, however, we have Western civilization's basic reference points. From its beginning in early monotheism to Runnymede and the Constitutional Congress it has been built upon and expanded.

Trying to short-circuit the establishment of the law by building fences around sections of the Supreme Court's authority is as dangerous as packing the court with pre-disposed judges. We don't think it can be done.

. . . Unquote

"What I saw at the Governors' Conference did not lend me too much encouragement about the South's continuing to preserve its way of life. I was unable to find solace from Democratic governors, even many from the Southeast."

Governor Marvin Griffin
of Georgia
Quoted by
INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

• • •

"Certainly no one can quarrel with Congressman Hays' premise (see quote elsewhere on this page). The Christian church cannot and must not avoid the great controversial issues of our time. The church itself was founded in the midst of controversy and has lived with it ever since. The major social issues are not dancing, card playing, smoking or, serious as it is, drinking. The great war is on for men's minds and Christians must participate."

From an editorial
in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

• • •

"(The) traditional methods of extending help to Negro neighbors won't suffice. Imagination must accompany our compassion. I realize we cannot have complete unanimity in these matters, (but) it would be tragic for us to assume that we can function as a Christian body without assigning to trusted representatives of the convention the task of pointing out our Christian duty with respect to social evils and current conflicts."

Rep. Brooks Hays, President,
Southern Baptist Convention,
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

• • •

"If all the Negro farmers of Mississippi suddenly found OIL on their tenant farms, then twenty years from now a heap of white folks would file claims with affidavits attached to prove that they are 1/64th Negro, like it happened with the former Indian 'savages'."

Harry Golden
in THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE

• • •

"The right kind of democracy will bring economic liberty. The economically disenfranchised must be given equal opportunities for daily work. Our leadership must more and more insist that every man, regardless of race or creed or economic status, must be given an equality of opportunity . . . The walls of hatred that are being erected between groups and nations and races must be broken down. It may be that this is our finest world opportunity to use the battering-ram of the gospel of love to break down these walls that have recently been erected between the races."

W. C. Vaught, Jr., Pastor,
Little Rock Immanuel Baptist Church
Quoted by ASSOCIATED PRESS